

INTERPRETATION OF SCHIZOPHRENIA

Psychotherapy
of
Chronic
Schizophrenia

SILVANO ARIETI MD

Psychotherapy of Chronic Schizophrenia

Silvano Arieti, M.D.

e-Book 2016 International Psychotherapy Institute

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Psychotherapy of Chronic Schizophrenia

I

Definitions: Scope of the Problem

Before prolonging the debate over whether psychotherapy is a suitable mode of treatment for the chronic schizophrenic, we have to define the term *chronic schizophrenia*.

My point of view is that neither the severity of the symptomatology nor the long duration of the illness is the characteristic required for the diagnosis of chronic schizophrenia. Only the quality of the symptomatology is the criterion for whether a patient should be considered chronic. A patient who has been in a catatonic stupor for several months is not necessarily a chronic schizophrenic. He may still not have recovered from the acute state with which the illness started. At times even experienced therapists are unclear on the subject. For instance, Ferreira (1959) reported his successful treatment with two “severely regressed schizophrenics” whom he called chronic catatonic. It is to the credit of Ferreira to have

achieved great success with these two severely ill patients. He achieved success by “accepting and, as much as possible, satisfying the patient’s needs, regardless of how unrealistic they were.” As each patient improved, Ferreira encouraged him to utilize his own reacquired ego functions more and more. Ferreira’s merit is not decreased by the fact that these two patients, although in a severe catatonic state, were not chronic. If in the category of chronic schizophrenia we include the patients who in this book have been diagnosed as belonging to the second, or advanced, stage, the third, or preterminal, stage, and the fourth, or terminal, stage, then we must be more cautious in expressing optimistic opinions.

Even the most optimistic therapists who treat chronic schizophrenics with psychodynamic psychotherapy limit their efforts to patients who have been described in this book as belonging to the second stage. Those in the third or fourth stages are excluded. Even the patients who, as I reported in Chapter 36, were studied by me in Pilgrim State Hospital and who obtained temporary remission belonged to the second stage in spite of their prolonged hospitalization.

We shall not repeat here the symptomatology of the second stage, which has been described in Chapter 23. I shall merely repeat that the symptoms have assumed a fixed and definite form. The secondary process seems to have been defeated permanently, and the primary process prevails. At the level of interpersonal relations there is very little mobile anxiety. As a matter of fact, it is very difficult to mobilize anxiety again. The patient has to master all the resources available to him to delay or to stop the progression of the regression.

Grinspoon, Ewalt, and Shader (1967) have reported pessimistic results in chronic patients treated with psychotherapy on a long-term basis. They conclude their work with the statement that psychotherapy alone does little or nothing for chronic schizophrenic patients in two years' time. The patients were treated by residents. In answer to anticipated criticisms the authors added:

There are those who would argue that even nearly two years of psychotherapy with exceptionally well-qualified therapists is not enough time in which to draw any meaningful conclusions about its usefulness as a therapeutic tool with this kind of patient. They would claim that it takes five or even ten years of psychotherapy with such sick patients to accomplish anything substantial, let alone to effect a cure. If this is the case, however, then

intensive psychotherapy as a treatment for chronic schizophrenia would have merely academic interest since it would be available for only an infinitesimally small number of patients and would therefore have no public health value. On the other hand, if, after almost two years of intensive psychotherapy, it appears that little or no fundamental change has occurred in the patients reported on here (and in fact there was in these instances very little to suggest that any substantial working alliance had been established), then by extrapolation one might certainly question whether any number of years of individual psychotherapy would be useful to such patients, if one considers “useful” to mean a fundamental alteration of the patient’s ego in the direction of greater health.

The authors conclude that psychotherapy for a much longer period of time is rarely feasible because of the expense and time involved. Thus, its effectiveness becomes a theoretical question. On the other hand, the authors report that “phenothiazine therapy in conjunction with psychotherapy seems to work quite well at reducing florid symptomatology and also perhaps at making the patient more ‘reachable,’ more receptive to communication with the therapist and others.” I must regrettably add to the conclusions of this important work that unfortunately a large number of chronic schizophrenics are also not affected by drug therapy or, if affected, improve too little to

warrant discharge from the hospital and reintegration into the community.

II Methods of Social Interaction

Many authors have attempted treatment of the chronic schizophrenic with methods consisting not of individual treatment but of social interaction. Several authors (Fairweather, 1964; Pace, 1957; and Sanders et al., 1962) obtained a certain degree of resocialization but no correction of the psychopathology *per se*.

Ludwig and co-workers (1967) instituted a fifteen-week treatment program with chronic schizophrenics. The treatment group consisted of five groups of four patients each (two male, two female); the control group consisted of ten other patients on the same ward. Situations were devised in each group in which the patients would be exposed to one another, would be forced to interact, and would be considered responsible for one another's behavior. By earning privileges or incurring sanctions, patients were stimulated to become involved with one another and to acquire a sense of responsibility. Increased interaction occurred, but it was not related to any overall

improvement. Many patients actually got worse.

In spite of these results, a number of ideas and principles emerged that have stimulated Ludwig to conduct further research in the treatment of the chronic schizophrenic. His research deserves accurate study. Ludwig's methodology is not psychoanalytic or psychodynamic; but being psychosocial it remains in the field of psychotherapy. If we remain cognizant of the large number of chronic patients and of the magnitude of this problem in psychiatric hospitals, we must welcome studies like those of Ludwig and must evaluate them with the open-mindedness that they deserve.

Ludwig's theoretical premise is that the symptomatology of the chronic schizophrenic may be subsumed under the term "alteration in consciousness" (Ludwig and Farrelly, 1966; Ludwig, 1970, 1973). He feels that, as far as his technique is concerned, it does not matter whether chronic schizophrenia is the result of an organic disorder, institutionalization, or an unconscious desire on the part of the patient to remain sick. This altered consciousness has to be combated with a pragmatic approach. Ludwig (1970) sees four facets of the therapeutic approach of the chronic schizophrenic. The first is how to get the

patient's attention. "The potency or the magnitude of the stimulus must increase proportionally to the depth of alteration in consciousness." Also, the greater the depth, the more concrete, specific, immediate, and tangible must be the transmitted message or reinforcement for the appropriate response. Second is the problem of how to sustain the attention of the patient, once it is obtained. Third is the problem of how to get the patient to internalize therapy's external alarms and arousal stimuli so that he can remain alert and attentive and provide his own "self-arousal stimulation." The fourth facet concerns what to do with the sober or intact mental state once it is attained and sustained. In fact, at this stage the patient may appear lazy rather than crazy and psychopathic rather than psychotic.

Ludwig's specific techniques presuppose the acceptance of the following general points of view: (1) patients would not play and exploit the sick role if the hospital did not provide a reinforcing atmosphere for the perpetuation of this behavior. Institutional pressures make it likely for chronic patients to indulge in such typical forms of behavior as excessive reliance on authority, fixed routines, and loss of personal dignity. (2) A treatment program for the chronic schizophrenic "must adopt and implement a value system of its own

which does not reinforce the sick role and which does encourage and reinforce responsible, socially adaptive behaviors.” What Ludwig fundamentally affirms is that treatment must fight not only the illness but also “institutionalism.” Institutionalism is seen by him, and incidentally by many other authors, as an enduring event just as bad or almost as bad as the illness itself.

Ludwig and Marx (1969) obtained very impressive results with the “buddy system.” This method consisted of pairing patients and then maximizing their exposure to each other in all daily activities, including work, eating, and recreation. Previous studies consisting of larger groups of patients had given unsatisfactory results, possibly because too much responsibility had been delegated to patients, who had become discouraged and had decompensated under pressure. This particular group, a pair consisting of one better and one poorer functioning patient, gave much better results. Each of the buddies was responsible and accountable for the other. The privileges each buddy received were contingent upon the weekly average behavior rating score of the buddy pair. The general improvement of the twenty-eight patients involved was attributed by the authors mainly to a marked improvement of twelve of them. Although the improvement was not

sufficient to permit discharge of most patients, it achieved significant results. It demonstrated that a close relationship in many of these pairs was possible. It is important to mention that each pair had half an hour per day of joint psychotherapy.

Other authors have used various techniques of operant conditioning. Ayllon and Azrin (1965) have developed a “token economy.” By awarding tokens for such good behavior as work, grooming, bathing, toothbrushing, and so on, patterns of good behavior were reinforced. Some improvement was noticed in a large number of patients. It is important to consider the fact, however, that almost all the studied patients were on phenothiazine medication.

If we try to evaluate these methods, we must reach some conclusions: they do not consist of attempts to change the inner self of the patient, to solve his conflicts or remove the symptoms that made him experience the world and himself in a different way. The aim is to help the patients to develop patterns of behavior that are less unacceptable and more manageable. To that extent these methods have succeeded. Inasmuch as nothing has so far been devised that would offer help to a large number of regressed patients who do not

respond to drug therapy, even these minimal results are to be welcomed. They indicate that even the regressed schizophrenic is able to respond to very simple methods that invoke simple psychological mechanisms. Operant conditioning and nonsymbolic learning work also with subhuman animals, mental defectives, autistic children, and therefore there should be no great surprise if they work also with regressed schizophrenics. The mental mechanisms that involve highly symbolic processes, complicated interpersonal relations, and abstract value systems are bypassed. It is easier to bypass them in “the burned out” schizophrenic than in the less sick schizophrenic, whose symptoms are still unsettled and whose anxiety and symbolic connections may change form rapidly or spread out, even to areas involving the conditioning process.

We must praise the authors who have devised the treatments based on token economy and special interpersonal relations. These techniques involved symbolic learning, but only to a minimal degree. Perhaps the concomitant use of phenothiazine helped. All these procedures could be subsumed in the following way: even many regressed schizophrenics can learn with the method of reward and punishment.

We must be grateful to Ludwig and other authors who have tackled these almost impenetrable problems. Any experiment that could diminish the tragedy of the chronic schizophrenic has to be welcome. On the other hand, we must admit that the results so far obtained are far from satisfactory. Some of these procedures repeat partially the methods that I have observed in nurses and attendants of Pilgrim State Hospital from 1941 to 1945 (Chapters 36 and 39). They repeat the method of the good nurse to the extent that they establish a system of reward and possibly of rebuilding of self-esteem. Still, they lack what seems to me the necessary prerequisite of the good-nurse method. In the first stage of the nurse method, she satisfies the needs of the patient, no matter how immature these needs are. Thus she discloses a maternal attitude and opens up the possibility of interpersonal communion. Nothing of this is found in the methods reported in this chapter.

Sanders, Smith, and Weinman (1967) have dealt with the treatment of chronic psychoses, continuing a work, already quoted, done in collaboration with others (Sanders et al., 1962). They structure three socioenvironmental conditions that demand three different degrees of interaction—minimal, partial, and maximal. The

improvement in each of the three socioenvironmental programs was evaluated in succession in reference to awareness of others, interaction in structural situations, and spontaneous social behavior.

The socioenvironmental treatment consisted of changing the social living situation programs of interaction activity and intensified group experiences.

The physical environment was changed to approximate more closely nonhospital conditions. Private rooms situated in small cottages were substituted for dormitories. Each cottage had a comfortable living room. Each patient had the key to his own room and was responsible for cleaning the room. The promotion of an attitude of therapeutic community was implemented by regular staff meetings with the nursing personnel. Special clubs and gatherings were organized. The goal of extramural living was impressed on all patients.

The interaction activity program was conducted by small, relatively closed activity groups. The intensified group experiences were obtained through four hours a week of group therapy and

patient government. The authors found that this psychosocial treatment ameliorated the social maladjustment and improved the psychiatric status of some patients but exacerbated the symptomatology of others. The older patients and those who had been ill for a long time showed the most favorable social response and the most positive psychiatric adjustment in the maximally structured treatment condition. The improvement was less noticeable in less structured treatment programs. Younger male patients and those who had been ill for a short time showed less favorable response to the treatment. Although some of them benefited, many others were apparently disturbed by the intimacy of the interpersonal interaction. The results with female patients were less satisfactory. The authors concluded that chronic schizophrenia is “not a unitary entity, characterized by progressive apathy, withdrawal and alienation.” Two groups of patients could be distinguished. The first group, which responded much better to treatment, consisted of patients who had undergone a reduction in drive level as a consequence of the aging process, duration of illness, and length of hospitalization. These patients were better able to tolerate and adjust to the demands of an intense social milieu. The second group, consisting of younger and

more active patients, responded less favorably to appropriate social behavior. I believe that these findings are in line with what we have already said in reference to Ludwig's methods. If from the group of so-called chronic schizophrenics we remove patients whom I classify as belonging to the first stage—no matter how long ago the illness started—we are left with burned out schizophrenics who respond much better to very simple nonsymbolic or slightly symbolic methods of treatment. Their active pathology will not interfere; the treatment will not become an object of mistrust or involved in paranoid ideation, and defenses will not be established against it. On the other hand, the schizophrenic patient who is not so sick may even sustain an additional injury to his sense of human dignity in being treated with such primitive techniques, which do not involve his thinking, feeling, and willing.

Sanders, Smith, and Weinman believe that whereas a physician is required for administering drug therapy, shock therapy, or psychotherapy, no medical training is required for people who want to work with psychosocial methods. They believe that one year of hospital-based didactic and practical training given to graduates from two-year program community colleges will enable them to participate

in this type of therapy.

In spite of the limitations of the social treatment of chronic schizophrenia, there seems to be no doubt that good social conditions and a spirit of therapeutic community are helpful. As early as 1961, Wing and Brown reported their study of how social conditions in a given hospital influence chronic schizophrenia. In their accurate study of three hospitals a consistent pattern was detected. Hospital A was characterized by the most personal freedom and useful occupation of patients and optimism among the nurses. This was the hospital where the least clinical disturbance was found. Conversely, hospital C was the one where there was the least personal freedom, useful occupation, and optimism. It was also the hospital with the most clinical disturbance. Hospital B had an intermediary position.

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Acknowledgments

I wish to express my indebtedness to the publishers who have permitted the reproduction in this volume of long excerpts and/or illustrations from the following articles of mine:

“Special Logic of Schizophrenic and Other Types of Autistic Thought.”
Psychiatry, Vol. 11, 1948, pp. 325-338.

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“Schizophrenic Art and Its Relationship to Modern Art,” *Journal of the American Academy of Psychoanalysis*, Vol. 1, pp. 333-365. © 1973 by John Wiley & Sons.

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